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BUILDING SOVIET GERMANY

By Wolfgang von Eckardt

Speaking to the text that it is time to "discard cant and humbug", Winston Churchill, on June 5, told the House of Commons that: "Every effort is being made to communize every part of the Russian zone in Germany." On June 10 the New York Times charged editorially that, in violation of the Potsdam Agreement, "Russia . . . is now preventing economic unification by organizing her occupation zone as a more or less Sovietized unit integrated with her own economy. . . ." Indeed, the development of Soviet Germany demands attention.

The Red Army entered Germany to the tune of Ilya Ehrenburg's hymns of hate. There was widespread looting and raping; wholesale removal of machinery and even railroads; terror and lawlessness. The hopes which many German anti-Nazis had pinned on Russian "realism", under the influence of the propaganda of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, were as shattered as were the initial expectations of the German Communists.

Yet, while Red Army discipline seemed to have broken down completely, Soviet Military Government was quick to initiate intensive political and cultural reconstruction. When Americans came to Berlin, last July, they were surprised to find that cafés, nightclubs and cabarets were open and that, two months after surrender, a number of theaters and good concerts entertained "the masses". In the Western zones there was then still deadly, gloomy silence. While we drove home the doctrine of collective guilt, the entire Russian zone was plastered with almost conciliatory propaganda -- "the Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State remain."

A new unified trade-union, with compulsory membership, was soon organized by the Russians on a zone-wide basis, while a like development in the Western zones was prevented, on the argument of Sidney Hillman and the World Federation of Trade Unions, that German labor leaders could not be trusted. Under the Russians the disillusioned young people of Germany are cared for and guided into a new "Free German Youth Movement". We treated

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Nazis and anti-Nazis alike, but the Russians elevated the "Victims of Fascism" to a privileged class. The sweeping land-reform and other measures were promoted by enormous propaganda campaigns and organized demonstrations in their favor. Communists were, of course, put in key positions in the zonal administration and other official occupations, though the appearance of proportionate representation of all parties was for a time maintained.

II

The German Communist Party reciprocated by making a temporary peace with free enterprise and private ownership. Its leader, Wilhelm Pieck, who, like most other leading German Communists returned from exile in Moscow with the Red Army, declared on June 6, 1945: "We are of the opinion that it would be wrong to force the Soviet system on Germany, as this does not correspond with the present possibilities of German development."

Equally interesting is the fact that Communist propaganda in all of Germany has become increasingly nationalistic. While other parties may not even imply any criticism of Allied policy, the Communists announce: "We fight for Germany's unity." They have come out strongly for retention of the Ruhr and Rhineland. Walter Ulbricht, Communist deputy leader, declared in the presence of Russian officers: "The Ruhr belongs to Germany and will and must remain German."

Communist propaganda in Germany is all but indistinguishable from that of Dr. Goebbels. The call is always for "new banners", for "new drummers to awaken the people" and for "new marchers". Communist leaders are acclaimed with an artificial frenzied enthusiasm reminiscent of Nazi Fuehrer-worship. On Wilhelm Pieck's birthday celebration, which culminated in a huge mass meeting, the Berlin radio commented: "How deeply moving are the warm waves of adoration which rise up to him [Pieck] from our ranks. . . ."

Communists and fellow travellers accuse Western occupation authorities of insufficient de-nazification. But Nazi officials who were ousted by American Military Government now hold prominent positions in the Russian zone. Former Nazis and members of the Hitler Youth, who are openly urged to join the Communists, need to make only slight mental adjustments. With its stress on totalitarian nationalism, the international character of Communism has been pushed into the background and a German National Bolshevism emerges. It appeals

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strongly to adherents of the spiritually almost identical National Socialism.

III

A secret, inner-party Communist directive, issued in May, 1945, as the party was first re-organized after Russian occupation, reads in part:

> "We can consider as on our side . . . part of the middle classes and the youth who are concerned about the further national existence of Germany . . . and are afraid to be swallowed up by American imperialism. . . . Our own organizational weakness within Germany and toward the imperialist occupation powers does not permit us under any circumstances to go ahead independently for the time being. The 'Communist' party . . . must dissolve in the anti-Fascist movement. . . . Comrades, don't be afraid to approach even the sterile leadership of Social Democracy. Only if we force . . . a united front from above will we be able to drive them out of the field."

Accordingly, the political parties and various organizations were molded into a totalitarian pattern as soon as they had gained a foothold. Once independent leaders, like Andreas Hermes of the Christian Democratic Union, were ousted, the "bourgeois" parties all but lost their identity within the Communist-dominated "anti-Fascist" front. In May, 1945, the Social-Democrats had offered "organizational unity of the German working class" to the Communists. The offer was then refused. A year later the Communists were ready on their own terms.

The fusion, enforced by the Russian-appointed executive committee of the two parties, was accomplished by May Day of this year, as planned. Socialist resistance was overcome by a combination of methods: the famous caviar-and-vodka treatment; suppression of all adverse public utterances; outright terror, such as the "disappearance" of prominent Socialists in the reactivated concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. The courageous rebellion of Socialist rank and file in Berlin who, on March 31, voted 7 to 1 against the Communist-indorsed merger, proved the anti-totalitarian sentiments of the majority.

Nevertheless, the Allies sanctioned the new Socialist Unity Party, which is now actually the Communist Party, on a mass basis, with the same nationalist propaganda. It aligns, dominates or absorbs all other organizations, particularly trade and farmers' unions and "Free German Youth". In 1933 the Nazis called the identical method Gleichschaltung. "Russia", says the New York Times lead editorial of June 10, "is reaching out for control of the rest of Germany through a Communist-dominated 'Unity Party'".

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IV

This Soviet policy is bound to have strong effect on the Western occupation zones. As Mr. Churchill says, to divide Germany and write off the Eastern part will not lessen the danger. Western Germany would have to embrace the Eastern ideology in order to reunite.

Russian propaganda, and exploitation of American blunders in the West, encourage such German "realism". Many Germans in the British and American zones already regard the Soviet zone as better off, for no food-ration statistics are published there. Even more important is the fact that the East begins to offer employment, as the Russians revive German industry.

The Socialist Unity Party is designed to split Social-Democracy in the West and may still succeed in doing so. This outcome will be the more probable if fellow travellers in American Military Government continue to plant Trojan Horses, such as the Communist-influenced DANA, monopolistic news agency in the American zone. National Bolshevism and totalitarian "unity" hold a strong appeal to thousands of "de-nazified Nazis" and to the increasing number who are disillusioned with Western Democracy as it presents itself in Germany today. Moreover, the Russians make the best of arguments that they did not bomb German cities into rubbish heaps and that the capitalistic West wants to de-industrialize Germany to eliminate its competition, while Russia seeks to develop German production.

Persistent rumors now make the rounds in Berlin to the effect that the Russians would even approve the return of the wholly German territory annexed by Poland. "Poland", it is stated, "is unable to absorb the German East . . . [and is] creating a desert between the future Great Powers: Germany and Russia." Russia might well reward a Soviet Germany with an invitation to participate in another partition of Poland.

Time is short if, as Winston Churchill says, "we must strive . . . to redeem and re-incorporate the German . . . people in a world system of free and civilized democracy".

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Wolfgang von Eckardt, son of a distinguished German scholar, came to the United States in 1936 as a refugee from Nazism; fought in the U. S. Army during the war and was assigned to Intelligence work in Germany. He is now a resident of New York City.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. III - No. 24

By Frank C. Hanighen June 12, 1946

The effect of Justice Jackson's public attack on Justice Black is to discredit — or rather further to discredit — the Supreme Court. For the ugly brawl is merely the logical outcome of a decade of politics which has steadily brought the once sacrosanct shrine of justice to its present nadir.

Whatever the truth or validity of Jackson's charges, it ill becomes him to accuse Black of attainting the dignity of the Court. For Jackson himself is at this very moment engaged in an enterprise which has profoundly evil effects on the Court's prestige. By serving as Prosecutor of the Nuremberg trials he has outraged many American men of law. Anyone holding a position on the High Court should not step down, temporarily, and assume the robes of a Prosecutor; the contradiction in roles will alone make his continuance as a Justice of the Supreme Court suspect. Besides, he has acted in his new capacity in trials of very dubious legality. The legal procedure of the Nuremberg "show" — grounded upon the ex post facto principle, which is expressly prohibited by our Constitution, and "judging in one's own cause" — has ominous implications for our own system of dispensing justice. Shortly before he died, the late revered Chief Justice Stone privately expressed his surprise that more members of the American Bar had not exposed the dubious legality of the Nuremberg trials. It was inevitable, therefore, that one should hear the vernacular but appropriate wisecrack: "Pot calls Black kettle".

Only a deep personal frustration, and lack of judicial balance, could have prompted Jackson to this wild deed. The reputation of the Nuremberg trials has suffered severely during the past few months. And Jackson by no means starred in his new role; even the New Yorker pointed out that Goering scored heavily off the American prosecutor. Next, President Truman was dissuaded from naming him as Chief Justice, by Justice Black among others. Mr. Fred Vinson got the post Jackson reportedly wanted. Finally, since Jackson's name had been connected with the New York Gubernatorial campaign, a political angle appears. In the past week, the press has seemed sure that the Democrats have finally decided on Mead as the candidate. Thus a succession of personal disappointments could well have provoked the outburst from one who has always seemed more politically than judicially minded.

The eruption of this quarrel carries on to the judicial plane the disintegration of the New Deal which has been recently so apparent in the political field. The New Deal movement, founded on a "glamor" personality rather than on any principles, has reached its final disruptive phase. The caterwauling on the bench — like the chaos in international and industrial relations — is the result of the casual attitude of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has just been described by his old friend and biographer, Emil Ludwig, as a man without "much intellectual capacity".

The irresponsible political temperament of the late President led to the selection of the two embroiled justices. Black, a militant Senator with a Ku Klux Klan record and several years experience as a police judge, was scarcely the type of man whom any Executive with regard to the ability and dignity of the High Court would have chosen. (It must be said that by this time Black has learned to be a very competent justice.) The choice was made as a gesture of defiance to the "economic royalists". As for Justice Jackson, his decision in the destroyer-for-bases deal, when he was Attorney General, marked him primarily as a politician desirous of advancement. Roosevelt gave him his reward — and gave the Court an utterly undistinguished jurist.

But behind Jackson is Justice Frankfurter, his best friend on the Court, who joined him in the decision which reportedly provoked the ire of Black. Indeed, those who know the Court believe that the real fight is between Frankfurter and Black, who has challenged Frankfurter's pretensions to be the intellectual leader of the Court. Therefore, the

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proposal that both Jackson and Black resign may not be too displeasing to Frankfurter. While losing his friend Jackson, he would nevertheless find very convenient the departure of Black. Intrigue Abounding!

Two thousand years ago Cicero in De Re Publica, laid down the essentials for an enduring republic: "liberty" and "concord". By concord he meant a common agreement on fundamental matters. Today, in the Court fight, what seems to be merely a personal feud is in reality a sympton of a complete lack of "concord". If two justices cannot reach agreement on the necessity of maintaining the dignity and prestige of the Court, an abyss yawns where once stood the keystone of the American legal and political system. This, rather than personal resentment or "New Deal vs. conservative legal philosophies", is the real issue in the present Court imbroglio. Cicero saw in the growing lack of concord of his day the end of the Roman republic -- which indeed occurred soon after he wrote his essay.

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Byrnes is going to Paris to stand firm against Molotov. If Molotov proves unyielding; well, the truth is that the American delegation has no clearly formulated plans for the next step. So say informed Capitol circles who add that the British, on the other hand, are envisaging unpleasant alternatives: rupture of diplomatic relations with Poland and Russia's Balkan satellites on the ground that they are not "democratic states"; negotiation of separate peace treaties with Italy and Germany (Bevin has indicated that he may take this course); reconstruction of the industry of the latter country and its political rehabilitation. Opinion here is inclined to the belief that Byrnes would go along with the British in these plans, should all efforts to reach an agreement with Russia prove futile.

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On the day -- dies irae -- when the Supreme Court bore the shame of Jackson's action, the Senate covered itself with glory. The La Follette Reorganization ("streamlining Congress") Bill passed the Upper House by a large majority. It was a difficult dose for many Senators to swallow for it deprived them of position and patronage. There should be grateful recognition of the statesmanship of the majority who voted to sacrifice their own political advantages. Special praise goes to Senator La Follette, who fought for years in behalf of the reform, framed its provisions and -- greatest task of all -- as floor manager guided it to a victorious vote. Senatorial reporters, keenly aware of the difficulties of getting a favorable vote in such a situation, say that only the Progressive Senator from Wisconsin, who has long played a conciliatory role between the two parties, could have accomplished the mission.

This bill to expedite the legislative process would (1) reduce the cumbrous 33 Senate standing committees to 15 (the House bill would cut House committees from 48 to 18); (2) establish a staff of adequately paid researchers and legislative experts on whom members and committees could rely for information and technical advice; (3) set up a pension fund for members and raise their salaries from $10,000 to $15,000 a year; (4) provide for registration of lobbyists; (5) establish majority and minority policy committees; (6) form a closer liaison with the Executive by a Joint Legislative Executive Council. Experts who have worked many years for such legislation say that the Senate bill as passed substantially meets their aims. The House, where Congressman Monroney (Okla.) is the sponsor, has yet to act on its bill. But, even should the House fail to reach a vote this session, the chances of eventual passage are bright.

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The following analysis, of an American expert recently returned from the Far East, helps to elucidate the confusing situation in North China. The Chinese Communists last winter never expected to make great gains in Manchuria; nor did the Nationalists anticipate much trouble for their troops. They were both wrong. The inhabitants of Manchuria

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(mostly Chinese) have not actually been controlled by a Central Chinese Government since the revolution of 1911. Highly independent war lords dominated the area from that date until the Japanese took over in 1931. The Manchurians, many of whom emigrated to this rich territory from the poverty-stricken South, therefore came to regard the rest of China somewhat as a European immigrant in America looks down on the land from which he came. This provincialism flared into anger when the Nationalists attempted to assume the power surrendered by the Japanese. For Chiang Kai-shek made the mistake of appointing a number of South China figures, instead of Manchurians, to administrative positions. The Communists cleverly exploited this blunder by offering "independence" to the populace, thereby winning to their ranks numerous Manchurian puppet troops. After some disillusioning experiences with the Communists, whose promises were better than performance, these troops deserted by tens of thousands to the Nationalists. This largely accounts for Chiang's recent and unexpected successes, such as the capture of Changchun and the approach towards Harbin.

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As the former Mufti of Jerusalem returned to the Near East (an anti-Zionist muezzin for Arab fanaticism), Washington authorities were reportedly exploring ways and means of taking a hand militarily in the Palestine situation. The British, it is believed here, have plenty of forces to take care of any Jew-Arab disturbances. But it is known that Britain has warned Premier Quavam that it may prove necessary for H. M. Government to send troops into Iran "to protect British interests". Observers can only conclude that Washington's exploration of the Palestine problem is based on the possibility that Britain may ask for American replacements if British troops cross the Persian Gulf. But no certainty is felt that our Government will take any positive action, no matter what Britain desires.

As for Iran, no matter what the future holds for it, the United States as well as Russia and Britain has some responsibility for its fate, because of a document signed by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin in Tehran on December 1, 1943, and including the following pledges: "We shall express our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow. . . . The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran."

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The theft of the Hesse crown jewels by American military personnel in Germany demonstrates that the Nazis and Russians are not the only ones guilty of looting. The Hesse scandal is by no means unique. Unreported in the press are reliable stories like the following. Forty crates of loot (pictures, statues, silverware, etc.) brought back from Germany by an American officer and placed in a storage warehouse are now embarrassing his family, for the officer is dead and the family would rather not say how the goods were acquired; all the silverware in a famous Viennese palace was reportedly stolen by American GI's; a Chicago librarian tells us that a number of returned soldiers have tried to sell him rare German incunabula which they confessed to stealing; a friend writes us that he recently attended a dinner and ate with some very fine silverware with crest and all, admittedly taken "from our enemies" by the son of the family. But if their Government sets the example with an official policy of plunder -- the Morgenthau plan, confiscation of private property, and the dubious activities of the U. S. Treasury in seizing "Nazi funds" abroad,-- should too much blame fall on the GI's for their felonies?

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The defeat of Griswold -- and therefore of Stassen -- was actually greater than the figures showed. For Senator Butler, Griswold's opponent in the Nebraska primary, reportedly made every mistake in the "political book". But the voters so strongly doubted the Griswold-Stassen arguments, that they overlooked Butler's political ineptitude.

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Notes and Quotes

Harold Nicolson, reviewing Grégoire Gafenco's reminiscences Derniers Jours de l'Europe in the London Spectator (April 19, 1946) selects a passage which contains a somewhat prophetic tirade of Hitler. M. Gafenco, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, had an interview with the Fuehrer in April, 1939: "Suddenly the Fuehrer mentioned England, and at that his whole appearance changed; he rose from the sofa, paced the room and began to yell aloud. The fixed idea became apparent. England was all-powerful, aggressive, dangerous. England was too stupid to realize that what he, Adolf Hitler, was offering her was a half-share in the dominion of the world. And how dared England defy his plans? England who was not able to put two armored divisions into the field; England whose air-force was incapable of resistance. 'Our air-force', shouted Hitler, 'is the finest in the world; no single city of our enemies will remain intact.' And even if England were not defeated, what would be the result? 'Each of us', screamed Hitler, 'the conqueror and the conquered, will lie buried under the ruins; the only man to gain will be the man in Moscow -- nur einem wird es nützen, dem da von Moskau'."

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The Russian authorities have ordered R. H. Markham, Christian Science Monitor correspondent, expelled from Romania. Mr. Markham, long an expert on Balkan affairs, contributed two articles to HUMAN EVENTS: Russia Takes Over the Balkans, April 25, 1945; and Russia's Spear Head, July 18, 1945. His recent dispatches from Romania in the Monitor have courageously exposed the Communist terror in that land. It is believed that the State Department has strongly protested the Russian ukase, and that the expulsion order has been held up awaiting an answer from the Russian authorities.

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For the few who have suggested that this publication dwells too heavily on Russia's role in the international scene, we recommend the following opening statement in the well-informed English news letter, Review of World Affairs: "The proposition that everything is in a Russian context no longer needs arguing. Everyone can now see it clearly enough, and thus it is, of course, that Intelligence from everywhere has the Russian theme running through it. There isn't a corner of the globe of which this isn't true. We are right in the Russian chapter of the human story."

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Some conception of what inflation in China means may be derived from the following passage in a current report of the Trustees of Lignan University, in Canton: "The plight of the Chinese staff members now is very serious. Salaries range from $100 per month for the lowest-paid assistants to $600 for the highest-paid professor. In 'normal' times . . . these would have provided reasonably comfortable living standards. Now they must be adjusted by multiplying by a factor and adding a subsistence allowance. Up to last week the factor was 130 and the allowance $40,000 per month. The University has just been forced to raise these figures . . . to a factor of 160, and $50,000. The National Government figures are 200 and $60,000, and these must be adopted soon, at least for next year's budget, unless by that time the situation has gotten still farther out of hand. Even at 200 and $60,000, most staff members would be rather on the wrong side of the edge of starvation. A professor is comparatively well off if his salary is $500 a month. Very few have higher salaries than this. His 'take', after adjustment, is 200 x $500 plus $60,000, or $160,000 per month. This is about US$80. But the price of rice is about $50,000 per picul (100 catties, or 133 pounds), so that he can barely buy 300 catties of rice a month. This would perhaps be enough for a professor and wife and two children, but would leave them with about US$5 per month for all other food items and all other running expenses."

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